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“Votes for Women,” January, 1917.

The War Paper for Women

VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

Two events of public importance have taken place since we last went to press—the first official intimation of a desire for peace negotiations on the part of a belligerent nation, and the fall of Mr. Asquith's Ministry, which first came into power in January, 1906, and was merged in the Coalition six months after the outbreak of war. With Germany's suggestion to open peace negotiations we have no concern here beyond the desire that we share with every human person to see peace and goodwill restored on earth as soon as this end can be honourably compassed, and our belief, in the words of the *Nation*, that “in the ending or the continuance of this war, which has darkened with the shadow of death every home in the greater part of Europe, every man and woman in every belligerent country should have a voice.”

The New Ministry

With the prospects of woman suffrage under Mr. Lloyd George's Administration we deal in our leading article on page 228. The new Prime Minister has the advantage of entering upon his term of office with a clean bill as regards Registration Reform. Mr. Asquith's Special Register Bill received its final deathblow in the Commons on November 30, when Mr. Bonar Law, on behalf of the Premier, said he had no further statement to make on the subject; and Lord Lansdowne announced in the House of Lords on the same day that the Government did not intend to proceed with the Bill and would take no further action in the matter pending the conclusion of the Speaker's Conference. This was not encouraging to the progress of Lord Salisbury's Registration Bill, which, however, passed its third reading and was sent up to the House of Commons on December 7. After that, the political crisis absorbed Parliamentary interest until the new Prime Minister made his statement of policy on December 19.

The Woman Worker Again

All manner of observations, whether for commendation or advice, have been made regarding women's work during the month. The outcry for conscripting women, though they have no voice in their own government, has not been quite so loud as before, but we notice that at a county conference in Shrewsbury on December 13 a resolution was passed urging the organisation of women's labour under some form of compulsion. How little need there may be for compulsion was proved by the speech of Mr. C. R. W. Adeane, the new President of the Royal Agricultural Society, at Islington, when he said that agriculturists are actually cultivating the same area of land as before the war, though 40 per cent. of their best men had gone to the front. “They could not have done that,” he continued, “unless they had got the help of the women.” As to women's organisation, of course we agree about its advantage and necessity. But the general failure is due mainly to two things: low wages and want of political power. In the *Times* of December 18, Miss Isabel Basnett, secretary of the Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries, wrote that it is feasible enough to draw women clerks into combination, but the average pay of this class of worker is so small that any union which fixes a rate of subscription above a very low limit cannot hope for many members. We do not doubt that the same holds good of unions in other kinds of labour. Till the work of women is taken just as seriously as the work of men, and is paid at exactly the same rate when it is equally good, the strength of women's unions will be hampered and handicapped. As to political power, all know the vast difference that the extension of the franchise among men made to their trade unions in the last century.

“Emotionalism” and Courage

With the obvious intention of discrediting woman suffrage, the Sydney correspondent of the *Times* ascribes the failure of the Conscription Referendum in Australia partly to the “emotionalism” of the women voters. “They permitted their emotions,” he writes, “to guide their pencils in the booths, and reason and patriotism appealed to them in vain.” In a leading article, the *Times* further emphasised the point by saying, “The women voters of the Commonwealth gave rein to their emotionalism.” We would remark that, even if this were true, women voters are not the only people in political life to whom reason has appealed in vain, and we would ask by what right does the *Times* confine its charge of “emotionalism” only to the women who voted against conscription? How foolish and obsolete such general accusations are is proved by the splendid behaviour of the women workers at this crisis of the terrible explosion in a North of England munitions factory on December 2. The official announcement reported:

> The behaviour of the women is deserving of the highest praise. They displayed the greatest coolness and perfect discipline, both in helping to remove the injured and in continuing to carry on the work of the factory, in spite of the explosion.

By that explosion twenty-six women were killed and thirty wounded; yet even the Sydney correspondent, or the editor of the *Times* himself, could hardly have displayed less “emotionalism” than the women workers in the midst of such a disaster.

A Jest from New York

A merry comment reaches us from New York on the opinion expressed in the London *Spectator* that “such a revolution as female suffrage cannot be allowed to reach us by a side-wind.” The *New Republic*, in its issue of September 30, says:—

> One's political manhood, if it must go, should be lost in a head-wind and about the middle of the day. It seems that the *Spectator*, while it does not believe the loss of the political prerogative can be averted, does insist that there shall be some sort of dignity and circumstance in the manner of its taking off. To lose it, like a hat, on turning the street corner of a gusty evening, may cause a genuine regret for not having taken the proper precautions, whereas, if it is wrenched away after a manly struggle, civilization will at least feel that it has done something toward holding its own. It is an entirely natural point of view, and this plaintive expression of it really touches a chivalrous chord in us; but, after all, what can be done about it?. . . So far as we are concerned, we had as lief that female suffrage arrived in a howling gale, accompanied by thunder and lightning, as in a side-wind.

But all this happened some weeks ago. Conversions in the Press are now growing so common that we shall probably find even the *Spectator* coming before long to the conclusion that, if the votes of soldiers and sailors cannot be secured without the enfranchisement of women, it is after all “an ill wind that blows nobody any good.”

Items of Interest

The Medical Officer of Health for Manchester states in his report for 1915 that there was an increase in the number of deaths from tuberculosis of the lungs, which applied also to the infant death rate for 1913-14.

A deputation from the Manchester and Salford Women Citizens' Association suggested to the Clearing Committee of the City Council, on December 11, that women should replace the men who have enlisted in all ranks of the cleansing and scavenging service. It is understood that the Committee were not favourable to the scheme.

It was reported to the Middlesex County Council (says the *Times* of December 4) that the Government have so far refused to license women food and drug inspectors.

In California (says the *Woman's Journal* of Boston), since the housewives got the ballot, it has been made illegal to destroy any kind of food-stuffs for the purpose of keeping up prices.

A Labour Conference at Glasgow, on December 2, adopted a motion of Robert Smillie demanding an immediate increase of 50 per cent. on all separation allowances and pensions.

A deputation of M.P.'s to the Treasury, on December 5, urged the granting of a 2s. 6d. war bonus to each old age pensioner, and represented the failure of the recent Government scheme under which 500,000 applications still remained to be dealt with separately.

Lady Isabel Margesson, whose name is well known to Suffragists, advocates (and practises) the wearing of clogs when working on the land.

Women are to be allowed to take posts as clerks in the Criminal Courts in Germany.

SUFFRAGE IN 1916

When the year 1916 opened, Parliament was still sitting in order to pass the Military Service Act into law. On the day of the Prorogation early in January, Lord Lansdowne, in answer to a question in the House of Lords, said that the revision of the Register "would require legislation which might be of a very controversial character," and that the Government, while

> not prepared to give an undertaking that whatever happened they would carry necessary legislation before September next, certainly contemplated the necessity of such legislation and were already taking such steps as were possible in preparation for the new Register.

This pronouncement, it will be remembered, followed upon the withdrawal in the previous November of Lord Willoughby de Broke's Service Franchise Bill, and also upon the passage of the Government's Parliament and Registration Bill, an innocuous measure merely extending the life of the present Parliament, and leaving the existing Register unaltered, but remarkable for the speeches made in connection with it by Mr. Asquith and Sir John Simon, both of whom indicated that "special registers" would have to be set up by another Bill in order that the next Parliament, when elected, should represent the nation.

Suffragists on the Alert

When the new Session opened on February 15 no mention of such a Bill was made in the King's Speech; but VOTES FOR WOMEN took occasion in the leading article of its March issue to point out to Suffragists the danger as well as the opportunity involved in the necessity for Registration reform, which, in our opinion, could not be compassed without Franchise reform on a wide basis. This warning, coupled with the announcement that a Committee had been formed of members of the Labour Party, both in the House and the country, to discuss the whole question, brought about a recrudescence of Suffrage activity even in those Suffrage Societies which had suspended propaganda work during the war. Correspondence took place during May between Mrs. Fawcett and Mr. Asquith, which elicited the assurance from the Prime Minister that "if and when" a Franchise Bill should be contemplated, the considerations set out in her letter should be "fully and impartially weighed without any prejudgment from the controversies of the past." In the same month an important deputation of men and women, representative of many important Suffrage and Labour organizations (including the United Suffragists), requested an interview with Mr. Asquith. This was not granted, on the plea of pressure of work; but finally, a reasoned statement of the views of the deputation, urging the passage of a Franchise Bill which should include votes for women, was sent to the Prime Minister and the Press.

The Adult Suffrage Demand

The curious conjunction of circumstances by which, owing to the exigencies of war, the existing men's Register could evidently not be effectively reformed without the adoption of manhood suffrage together with a measure of redistribution, caused many Suffragists about this time to consider the advisability of altering the old Suffrage demand for "votes for women on the same terms as they are or may be granted to men" to something more positive, which would cover the possibility of a military service qualification being introduced for men, and would at the same time offer a constructive solution of the Registration problem, a matter that was apparently baffling the minds of the most practised Parliamentarians. A Conference of Suffrage Societies having shown, however, that all were not prepared to demand in advance more votes for men as well as votes for women (though most were ready to insist on womanhood suffrage the moment manhood suffrage was proposed in Parliament), the United Suffragists determined to take this step themselves, and in the July issue of this paper published their reasons for adopting the demand for "a Government measure to remove existing electoral anomalies and give votes to all women and all men." The Women's International League and Workers' Suffrage Federation had already made a similar change in their suffrage demand, to be followed soon after by the Free Church League for Women's Suffrage. About the same time a "Votes for All" Committee was formed, on which the U.S. were represented.

The Select Committee

The next step in the Registration controversy was the Government's attempt on July 19 to settle the matter by the appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons. The proposal broke down owing to the refusal of the House to have anything to do with it—a hostility largely created by the flippant speech of Mr. Herbert Samuel, who depreciated the motion in introducing it. The debate was remarkable as suggesting that the Cabinet, in attempting to solve the problem of securing the votes of men on active service, had come up against the impossibility, long foreshadowed in these columns, of doing so without enfranchising also the munition and war workers of both sexes. Mr. Asquith placated an angry House by pledging the Government once more to produce a Bill. "The Empire and Woman Suffrage" was the central idea of a public Suffrage meeting held in the Central Hall, Westminster, about the same time, under the auspices of the British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union, the meeting being the culmination of a successful conference held in London in July by the B.D.W.S.U.

The Special Register Bill

On August 14 Mr. Asquith introduced his long-delayed measure under the name of the Special Register Bill. The occasion was a remarkable one for Suffragists, for it was then that the late Prime Minister, explaining his proposals for prolonging Parliament beyond September, and for constructing a confessedly "makeshift" Register for the next election, admitted the impossibility any longer of denying the claim of women to the vote. He said he had received many representations from those qualified to speak for women on this matter, and, he added, "I am bound to say that they presented to me not only a reasonable, but, I think, from their point of view, an unanswerable case." More remarkable still was the frame of mind of the House of Commons that listened to this modification of a lifelong hostility to Woman Suffrage. The debate on the Second Reading of the Bill, two days later, in which Sir Edward Carson championed the cause of the soldiers and sailors, and Sir John Simon that of the women, showed that a large number of members recognized the impossibility of reforming the Register without touching the Franchise, and of touching the Franchise without admitting women. Several speakers alluded to Adult Suffrage as the only solution, and so favourable was the atmosphere of the House to a generous treatment of the question that Mr. Walter Long's proposal of a Suffrage Conference, to sit during the recess and draw up an agreed Franchise Bill, was accepted by Mr. Asquith. The Bill was sent to a Committee of the whole House, and Parliament adjourned on August 23.

Adult Suffragists and the Press

The formation during the recess of the National Council for Adult Suffrage—the outcome of the "Votes for All" Committee—was one of the Suffrage events of the year. Among the Societies that immediately became affiliated to it was that of the United Suffragists; Mr. H. W. Nevinson was elected Chairman, and other members of the U.S. Executive were appointed both to the Council and its Committee. This concrete recognition of the gradual trend of public opinion towards the Adult Suffrage solution of the Registration problem was reflected in the Press, over which a remarkable change came in August: the *Observer*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Graphic*, and *Daily Express* were among the new and unexpected supporters of man and woman suffrage on a wide basis. The Liberal papers made similar professions of a faith they had always academically held, and were now able to advocate openly owing to Mr. Asquith's altered opinions. It was in a changed world, as far as our question was concerned, that the Suffrage Conference was at last appointed—after, not during, the recess, as had been originally proposed.

The Speaker's Conference

The Speaker's Conference, as it came to be called, was appointed on the reassembling of Parliament, early in October. It consisted of thirty-two members of Parliament (among whom Suffragists slightly preponderated numerically), under the Chairmanship of the Speaker: its terms of reference were wide enough to include every kind of sweeping franchise reform. Its sittings have been held in private, and at the moment of going to press its report has not been submitted to Parliament. But evidence of one effect at least of its deliberations was seen in the attitude of the House to the Special Register Bill, when, in the Committee stage on November 1, the Speaker ruled that, contrary to his previous belief, "instructions" could not be moved to secure the inclusion in it of any new voters, whether soldiers or women. The House thereupon refused to go on with the Bill; progress was reported, and, not long after, it was announced that the Government did not propose to proceed with its further stages "until after the discussion on the larger questions." A similar Bill, introduced by Lord Salisbury in the House of Lords, and passed through that House early in December, was not encouraged by the late Government, probably for the same reasons as led to the withdrawal of their own Bill.

The New Administration

Early in December a Cabinet crisis occurred in connection with the conduct of the war, and a new Government was formed, with Mr. Lloyd George as Prime Minister—Mr. Asquith and several of his late Liberal colleagues retiring to the Front Bench on the Opposition side of the House. We deal with the new situation thus created in our leading article on page 228, which will complete this slight summary of the Suffrage movement in England during the year 1916.

Suffrage Abroad in 1916

It is a matter of pride to British Suffragists that the greatest progress in our movement abroad, in 1916, was made in our own Dominions. News was received on January 28 of the enfranchisement of the women of Manitoba; this was followed on March 9 by the announcement of the women's victory in Alberta. Saskatchewan was the next Province of Canada to follow suit, and British Columbia completed the magnificent record, early in the autumn. In Holland the eligibility of women has been admitted in the new Bill to reform the Constitution, which has passed the Lower House (see page 231). In Denmark (in a Referendum on foreign policy) and in Iceland women voted for the first time in 1916. In the United States both candidates for the Presidency avowed themselves Suffragists, Mr. Hughes declaring for Congressional action, while President Wilson advocated further action by State Legislatures only. In the November elections the first Congresswoman was elected in Miss Rankin, who now represents Montana in the House of Representatives. In South Dakota, the Suffragists lost in the Referendum, but polled a larger total than ever before. American Suffragists are now concentrating on the Federal Suffrage Amendment in Congress.

COMPULSORY NOTIFICATION

A Modified Demand

Another letter has appeared in the Press (December 18), signed by various men and women, of whom a very few are doctors, setting forth the reasons in favour of adopting compulsory treatment and notification of venereal disease in this country. The manifesto is an improvement on the former one, in that it does not in so many words demand the instant adoption of compulsory measures, and goes out of its way to agree (with all well-informed persons) that notification would be useless without the provision of free treatment and the prevention of quack treatment—which postpones compulsory measures indefinitely. The instances given of such measures being taken in countries where women vote are dealt with below by Miss Royden, in her reply to a similar letter from Lady Askwith addressed to the editor of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Mgr. Canon F. Brown, speaking at a Conference convened by the National Council of Public Morals at Sunderland House on December 5, said very truly that the matter had come to the front now because by reason of venereal disease men were declared to be unfit as soldiers. We are, naturally, glad that the matter has come to the front, for whatever reason; the danger to women lies in the fact that, in order to save the health of the Army, panic legislation may be passed that sounds plausible enough but really involves the further degradation of women and the partial undoing of Josephine Butler's life-work.

AN IMPORTANT MANIFESTO

A manifesto, a counterblast to the present advocacy of compulsory notification of venereal disease, has been issued from 19, Tothill Street, Westminster, and correspondence regarding it should be addressed to Dr. Helen Wilson at that address. The passage that will most interest our readers is the following:—

> Suggestions are sometimes made for dealing with this scourge by restrictions imposed only on women. Such efforts always have been and always must be futile. While men complain that they are infected by some woman, each woman may with equal certainty affirm that she was infected by some man; and it is usually by men that infection is carried to unsuspecting wives and innocent children.
>
> We urge the Government and Parliament and all persons interested in the subject, to apply the following tests to every proposal dealing with this great problem:—Firstly, will it tend to strengthen or to weaken that sense of individual responsibility in relation to sexual conduct which is the strongest and most effectual bulwark against the spread of disease? And, secondly, can it and will it in actual practice be applied with impartial justice to both sexes and to all classes?

The manifesto is widely signed by women representative of all sections of the community. Among women doctors are—Dr. Aldrich Blake, Mrs. Scharlieb, M.D., Dr. Amy Sheppard, Dr. Jane Walker, Lady Barrett, M.D. Among other distinguished women are Councillor Margaret Ashton, Lady Frances Balfour, Mrs. Bramwell Booth, Mrs. Sophie Bryant, D.Sc., Lady Frederick Cavendish, Lady Emmott, Mrs. Fawcett, Miss Llewelyn Davies, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Mary Macarthur, Mrs. Walter Runciman, Lady Selborne.

A WOMEN'S DEPUTATION

A joint deputation, organized by the Women's Freedom League, and representing eleven women's societies, was received by Mr. Herbert Samuel at the Home Office on December 4. Among the reforms urged as necessary to the stamping out of venereal disease were the enfranchisement of women, an equal moral standard for men and women, the raising of the age of consent and strict enforcement of the law, the extension of the law of solicitation to men, the provision of a woman doctor for women patients at the clinics. The deputation were unanimous in opposing compulsory measures of notification or detention.

The British Medical Association

A very strong Committee of the British Medical Association met and denounced proposals for compulsory measures on the ground (1) that these would lead to concealment and (2) that notification could not be followed up by effective treatment. The B.M.A., in co-operation with the National Council for Combating Venereal Diseases, are promoting legislation for preventing the sale of quack medicines and treatment by quack practitioners.

THE N.F.W.W.

The National Council of Women (delegates from the National Federation of Women Workers) which met in London on December 8, voted unanimously against compulsory notification and treatment.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Madam,—I repudiate with indignation your correspondent's assertion that the aim of our appeal of October 23 was to restore what she so truly calls "the tragic blunders" of the Contagious Diseases Acts. What we asked for was, briefly:—

Alteration of the law of libel,

Prevention of quack treatment,

Compulsory notification and treatment of those already infected.

I would call your correspondent's attention to a fact which had apparently escaped her, that these four points are already either enforced by law, or about to be so, *in those countries where women have most political power.*

In Denmark they are law already. Dr. Lombroso tells us in his evidence that it has not been found that notification produces concealment. In some States of America they are the law. In Norway the Director of Health finds that remedial measures without compulsion are useless and is applying for compulsory notification. In Australia they are already law in some States, and the Commonwealth Commission on Venereal Disease has just passed a unanimous Report recommending them.

Your correspondent will therefore discern that it is incorrect to state that we are the first to start an agitation for these salutary reforms which have chiefly for their object the protection of young girls; women, in the countries where they have more power, have not only demanded, but secured them.—Yours, &c., ELLEN ASKWITH.

12, Hans Crescent, S.W.

Miss Royden's Reply

Miss Royden writes in answer to the above:—

Lady Askwith does not attempt to meet any of the arguments adduced by me and many others, to show the end to which her ill-advised agitation for compulsory notification and treatment of venereal disease must, in present circumstances, lead. She is content merely to "repudiate with indignation" the consequences of her own act. Unfortunately this is not a useful thing to do. The consequences, as Lady Askwith is probably aware by now, are already upon us.

With regard to the solitary argument which she puts forward in defence of compulsion, I will remind her that it is sometimes safe, and may even be desirable, to adopt measures in countries where women have equal political power with men, which it is hideously unsafe to adopt where they are politically helpless. Even so, there is already a strong opposition in Australia to compulsory notification. It has arisen among the women. Nor were the Royal Commissioners ignorant of the fact that compulsory notification had been adopted in some countries. After hearing all the evidence, they unanimously decided against it.

Would Notification Work?

Dr. Robert Rentoul, a well-known Liverpool doctor, sends us an interesting letter, of which the following passage deals with the impracticability of notification:—

> Before we support compulsory notification it is well to know if the notification of infectious diseases and tuberculosis has given useful results. In New York City, Detroit, San Francisco, Melbourne and Sydney, and in some European countries, notification is compulsory. The Medical Officer of Health, New York, Dr. Bouldnau, tells me that in the six months of 1911 there were notified:—Syphilis, 8,033; gonorrhœa, 3,813; chancroid, 231. In a seaport city with a population of 5,583,870!

Its Failure with Tuberculosis

"T. O'Meara" writes as follows on what has happened in the case of tuberculosis:—

> Before the rather ignoble public panic which followed the discovery of the tubercle bacillus the consumptive patient was at least sure of pity and sympathy; now he becomes a social pariah, and a humane doctor will, therefore, give him every chance by diagnosing his ailment under another name, and refusing to notify at all. Poor patients who *are* notified receive a belated and perfunctory treatment at the public expense; and the root causes of the disease—bad housing, bad food, bad wages, bad conditions of work—remain untouched and proceed merrily upon their way, turning out relays of other consumptives. All these blunders would be repeated in the compulsory notification of syphilis.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR ADULT SUFFRAGE

Public Meeting to Demand a National Franchise

A large number of Labour, Suffrage, and other organisations, both of men and women, are now affiliated to the N.C.A.S. (27, Chancery Lane, W.C. Hon. Secretaries:—Miss K. D. Courtney and Mr. J. S. Middleton), and the Council includes besides many well-known and distinguished representatives of thought and opinion, all of whom advocate universal Suffrage for both sexes.

The Council will hold its first public meeting, with the Bishop of Lincoln in the chair, in the Kingsway Hall on Saturday afternoon, February 10, at 3 p.m., in which all the affiliated societies, including the United Suffragists, are co-operating. For full particulars see page 229.

The meeting should be supported by all who believe in Woman Suffrage and a National Franchise, and in a Parliament that represents the whole people for whom it makes laws and decides the great issues of peace and war. It will be held at an opportune moment, at the beginning of the new Session, in which the Register will have to be created whereon the next Parliament, perhaps the most important in the history of our country, will be elected.

Members of the Council

The following is a complete list of those who have, up to the moment of going to Press, been appointed to the Council:—

Mr. David Adams
Mr. W. A. Appleton
Miss Margaret Ashton
Mrs. Ayrton
Mrs. Barton
Mr. Arnold Bennett
Dr. Elizabeth Bolton
Mrs. Boyce
Mr. Fred Bramley
Mr. C. Roden Buxton
Lady Byles
Miss Janet Case
Rev. John Clifford, D.D.
Mr. G. D. H. Cole
Sir Francis Darwin
Mrs. Crompton Llewelyn Davies
Mr. Albert Dawson
Mr. Robert Donald
Mrs. Drake
Mrs. C. W. Earle
Mr. E. C. Fairchild
Mrs Mary Found
Mr W. L. George
Mr. G. P. Gooch
Canon Peter Green
Mrs. Charles Hancock
Mr. St. George Heath
Prof. C. H. Herford
Mr. J A. Hobson
Mr. Holford Knight
Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence
Miss Mary Longman
Mr. J. M. MacTavish
Miss Catherine Marshall
Mr. H. W. Massingham
Mr. J. S. Middleton
Mr. James Mylles
Dr. Marion Phillips
Prof. Powick
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Mr. W. H. Ryde
Dr. Alfred Salter
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Mrs. Olive Schreiner
Mr. F. J. Shaw
Mr. Frank Smith
Mrs. Deane Streatfield
Mr. F. R. Swan
Dr. Barbara Tchaykovsky
Miss Gertrude Tuckwell
Councillor Ben Turner
Dr. Jane Walker
Mrs. E. Webb
Dr. Ethel Williams
Mr. L. S. Woolf
Councillor W. Barber, J.P.
Mr. W. R. Blair
Miss Margaret Bondfield
Mr. H. N. Brailsford
Miss Beatrice Brown
Rosalind, Countess of Carlisle
Mrs. Erskine Childers
Rev. Stanton Coit
Miss K. D. Courtney
Prof. Rhys Davids
Miss M. Llewelyn Davies
Muriel, Countess De La Warr
Rev. Lewis Donaldson
Mrs. Bernard Drake
Archdeacon Escreet
Miss I. O. Ford
Mr. A. G. Gardiner
Mr. Allen Gee
Mrs. Bruce Glasier
Mr. Alexander Gossip
Mr. C. H. Grinling
Mr. Vernon Hartshorn
The Bishop of Hereford
Prof. L. T. Hobhouse
Miss B. L. Hutchins
Mr. George Lansbury
Miss Susan Lawrence
Mr. J. J. Mallon
Miss Anna Martin
Right Hon. Sir Wm. Mather
Hon. Lily Montagu
Mr. H. W. Nevinson
Mr. J. W. Ogden
Miss Sylvia Pankhurst
Mrs. Walter Rea
Mr. Morley Roberts
Miss A. Maude Royden
Prof. Michael Sadler
Mrs. C. P. Sanger
Dr. Ettie Sayer
Miss Evelyn Sharp
Mr. Robert Smillie, J.P.
Mrs. Philip Snowden
Mrs. Strickland
Mrs. H. M. Swanwick
Rev. Wm. Temple
Prof. Urwick
Miss Gertrude Toynbee
Miss Ethel Weaver
Mr. Ben Webster
Mr. Robert Williams
Dean of Worcester

Vice-Presidents

Mr. William Archer
Rev. J. Scott Lidgett, D.D.
Mr. J. L. Garvin
Bishop of Lincoln
Miss Mary Macarthur

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JANUARY, 1917.

THE NEW MINISTRY AND SUFFRAGE PROSPECTS

Mr. Lloyd George's speech on his accession to the Premiership was characterised by his usual brilliance, eloquence, and even—in the case of Ireland, for instance—by flashes of that imaginative insight for which the Celtic nature is remarkable. That he should have missed a great opportunity when he came to deal with the civil and domestic side of his subject seems to us, therefore, all the more regrettable. There was here wide scope for those special gifts which in this country enable a man to rise from the ranks of the people to the highest office in the kingdom—for breadth of vision, statesmanlike purpose, and constructive genius. The failure of the new Prime Minister to indicate his sense of the importance of securing a national unity by the means ready to his hand—a National Franchise—was an omission that in our view prevented his speech from being truly great.

"It is almost a truism to state, as the Prime Minister did," says the *Times*, "that in a democracy such as ours the unqualified support of Labour is indispensable to the prosecution of a great war." Has the Prime Minister that unqualified support? Or does he suppose with the *Times* that the support of the Parliamentary Labour Party is the support of those millions of women workers in the country who have no voice in the election of Labour Members, or of those other millions of men workers who happen, at the present moment, to be soldiers, sailors, or war workers? It is quite evident that, if he had to appeal now to the opinion of the country, none of the women whose labour is indispensable to the prosecution of the war, only a negligible proportion of the men workers, and practically none of those on active service or in training, would be able on the present Parliamentary Register to endorse or to refuse "the unqualified support of Labour" for Mr. Lloyd George.

"We Must Appeal to the Nation as a Whole"

All this might seem of small importance to the Prime Minister if his schemes for the further prosecution of the war were such as could be carried out by the powers he already possesses, or if he proposed to make no further calls upon the women of the country than have already been made. But the most important section of his speech was that in which he dealt with the mobilization of the women as well as the men of the whole nation:—"We must appeal to the nation as a whole, men and women, for without the help of the whole nation we can accomplish nothing," he said, in reference to the food question (of vital importance to the housewives). But more serious still, as far as women are concerned, was his foreshadowing of industrial conscription. It is true that here, unlike other public men in war time, Mr Lloyd George—except in a mention of agricultural labour—said nothing about the work of women. "The nation is fighting for its life," he said, "and it is entitled to the best services of all its sons." That is, however, pure evasion. The nation, as we all know, will want, and will get, as it has wanted and got all through the war, the services of its daughters as well as its sons. Whether under a voluntary or a compulsory industrial system, the war could not go on for a day without the co-operation of women, and it is impossible to suppose that Mr. Lloyd George ignores this fact. Nor can it readily be believed that he looks to find the same self-sacrifice, devotion, and industry, to which women workers have by this time accustomed us, in women who, while denied the protection of citizenship, are to be forced into the Labour market as conscripts for any rate of pay that a Government, independent of their political opinion, chooses to fling to them. Only two constructions can be placed upon Mr. Lloyd George's diplomatic avoidance of the word "women" in this section of his speech. Either he felt with his predecessor that the Franchise question must be postponed, pending the report of the Speaker's Conference; or he meant to shelve the Franchise question indefinitely. One would prefer to accept the former of the two suppositions; for, until we have better evidence than is afforded by a hint in the *Times* of the possible suspension of the Conference, it will be difficult to believe that the Speaker would readily consent to a dénouement which involves so much waste of his valuable time and services.

Franchise is a War Measure

It is as well to make one point clear. Suffragists are not forcing their question to the front at this time merely because they think their continued disfranchisement a disgrace that should be wiped out even during a great war. It has been forced to the front by the condition of the Parliamentary Register, on which, as the *Daily News* says, "no votes can be taken from the fighting forces or from women, so that an election would be a farce." In urging that the settlement of this problem of a Franchise Bill is as much "a war measure of the first importance" as Mr. George rightly stated the settlement of Ireland to be, Suffragists are not obtruding their personal desires with an indecent lack of any sense of proportion. They are meeting a war difficulty, which has arisen independently of them, with certain constructive proposals for clearing it out of the way for ever. They have every right, awaiting a definite explanation of the Prime Minister's attitude, to be bitterly disappointed that in a speech so full of interesting proposals—such as that for an Imperial Conference, at which by the way women's opinion will be voiced by their elected representatives from almost every part of the Empire but our own—he should have failed to seize his opportunity for securing that widespread national support without which his task will be an impossible one.

Suffragist Reminders

In their natural hope that the accession of the new Prime Minister, an avowed supporter of democracy, would mean open support for their cause, Suffragists of all kinds, we happen to know, sent him communications urging him to give them some assurance of that support in his speech. In addition, the Executive Committee of the Women's Liberal Federation carried the following resolution on December 12—

> That this Committee sends its best wishes to Mr. Lloyd George for success in the great task he has before him, and respectfully urges that in the best interests of the nation women should no longer be excluded from full citizenship rights.

This was followed by a similar resolution passed by the Executive Committee of the Liberal Women's Suffrage Union. Of reminders Mr. Lloyd George had no lack before he made his pronouncement of policy to a waiting country. Only a few days before, at his meeting with the Labour Party (according to an account of it given in a speech by Mr. R. Tootill, Member for Bolton) the Prime Minister "made it clear that the one supreme purpose we all had in view was the establishment of public rights and the freedom to develop the highest and best forms of civilisation, humanity and righteousness."

Public Rights and Freedom

A hundred years hence it will seem incredible that the man who expressed this noble sentiment should have followed it with a speech calling upon the whole nation to make sacrifices for carrying it in effect, and should have omitted from that speech any mention of the reform which would alone give to half the nation those "public rights and the freedom to develop," which are now denied to them. Mr. Lloyd George, with a lack of vision not customary in him, missed, as we have said, a great opportunity on December 19. But in war time much may be forgiven and much may be redeemed. The new Prime Minister can yet, if he will, signalise his term of office by an act of statesmanship the effects of which will continue to be felt long after this war has become ancient history.

Evelyn Sharp.

A New Year's Greeting to the Editor!

From ....

enclosing 2s. *for*

A YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION TO "VOTES FOR WOMEN"

To be sent to

(Name) ....

(Address) ....

....

(Cut this out and post to United Suffragists, 27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.).

MOTHERHOOD—WHERE WOMEN VOTE

By Margaret Hodge

(Hon. Press Secretary, British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union.)

One of the most touching petitions in our litany is for "women labouring of child" and for "young children," yet this prayer was fervently uttered for generations by millions of people who were tacitly consenting to the majority of mothers bringing life into the world in the prison, the workhouse, and the hovel, under conditions too appalling to record, and to the kidnapping of little helpless children in order to turn them into white slaves to labour for the increase of the nation's wealth. The exploiting of child labour to-day, the under-payment, even the deliberate sweating of women, under the plea of a great necessity caused by an unparalleled crisis in our history, are only the outcome of generations of practical indifference to the fate of the weaker sections of the community under man-made laws. Great reformers and philanthropists—such as Cobden, Macaulay, and Sydney Smith—although they deprecate the sufferings of child wage-earners, only urge the limitation of their hours of toil and the improvement of their working environment, if these be consistent with the increase of our commercial prosperity.

War Work and the Future Race

Only in recent years has our Government realised the need for a Maternity Grant for the expectant mother, and this grant is bestowed as if it were a charity rather than a right, and is not wholly under her own control. We hear much of our splendid women workers who are to win the war, but the average payment to the women and children in the munition factories is utterly inadequate to compensate them for the toilsome character of the work and for the tremendous risks they run. The loss the little children are sustaining is incalculable (some are as young as nine years old, though the exploitation of such babies is illegal); for a factory or a farm is a poor substitute for a school, and the lost youth with its opportunities will never return. A few Sundays ago I heard a Church dignitary in one of our most magnificent cathedrals addressing a well-to-do and complacent congregation upon the self-sacrifice of those women who were working so well for the State, and who were so patriotic as to do that work for very small remuneration. "They do not in the least mind what pay they get, and they give their best work," he concluded, with benevolent patronage in his tone. In those lands where British women vote (Australasia), there is a minimum wage for women as well as for children, fixed by the law, and so they are protected from a self-sacrifice which is so destructive to the race. It is the actual and potential mothers who are so lauded in Great Britain for a self-denial which may prove a cruel form of race suicide.

Mrs. Gamp Killed by the Vote

In Australia and in New Zealand the mother and child are justly regarded as the chief assets of the State, and the women voters of these countries have insisted on legislation for their protection against the exploitation of the capitalist. In Australia the Maternity Grant, or baby bonus, as it is familiarly called, is £5, and is paid to the mother for her service to the State in providing it, at her own risk, with a potential citizen. There are also a large number of Maternity Homes, and the registration of all nurses is insisted upon. This, however, was not the case in the days before the women voted. In 1898 my friend and I were travelling by coach in a remote region in the north-west of New South Wales. As the journey was a very long one, we had to spend the night in a Bush hotel. The three women travellers were all put into one room, so we shared ours with a monthly nurse who had travelled some thousands of miles in the course of the year, going from case to case at the Back of Beyond. She was a regular Mrs. Gamp, a pure empiricist, with no training or medical knowledge, although she had a kind heart, and would not, like her prototype, have "twisted thumbs, or turned fingers the wrong way" to recover her patients from unconsciousness. She told us a wildly improbable story of how she had claims to blue blood, but had been changed at birth, and boasted of her excessive cleanliness, illustrating this assertion by dipping her hair-brush into the ewer, which was to supply the water (a very scarce commodity in the drought) for all our ablutions. A grateful patient had presented her with a cock and a hen, which she put under her bed, and the deluded rooster began to crow when we lighted the candles! Such a woman would have no chance of employment now, as the registration of all midwives is compulsory, and high qualifications are insisted upon.

Practical Reforms

In New Zealand there are four State Maternity Hospitals in the four principal centres of population; there are also six large charitable Maternity Homes, where poor mothers can secure the best medical attendance and professional nursing free of charge. By the Nurses' Registration Act, all nurses must be trained and registered before they are qualified to practise, and by the Midwives' Act (1904), after a specified period, only qualified midwives are allowed to practise on their own account. By this insistence on high professional qualifications for the midwives, the mortality of mothers in child-birth has been greatly diminished. In the year 1903 there were 5.86 deaths, while in the year 1912 there were only 3.73 in every 1,000 cases.

The supervision of infant and child life is the most important work of the Governments of the Commonwealth and the Dominion. In both these countries they exercise a complete control of the dairy industry. Up-to-date methods and absolute cleanliness and purity of the milk supply are insisted upon, and insured by constant inspection and supervision. Cows that are tuberculous or diseased in any way are at once slaughtered, and the horror and surprise of Sir Thomas Mackenzie, High Commissioner for New Zealand, when he found that some cows in this country, which had been pronounced tuberculous, were merely sold and their milk distributed elsewhere, shows how much we have to learn from our daughter lands in matters of hygiene. In Australasia the almost universal use of the milking machine has made dairy owners far more independent of human labour, and has enabled them to provide milk at moderate prices. Milk institutes have also been established in all the chief centres of population with the object of reducing the number of infant deaths from milk poisoning in the very hot weather.

Saving the Babies

The reduction of the rate of infant mortality in Australasia has been most striking. Mr. Hughes told the women of South Africa that this reduction was chiefly due to the women's vote.

In New Zealand, in 1892, before women voted, the infant mortality was 114 in 1,000 births. In New Zealand in 1912, when the women had voted nineteen years, it was 51 per 1,000. In Australia, in 1903, before women recorded their first vote, it was 111 per 1,000, and in 1911, when they had voted seven years, it was 68 per 1,000.

The Infant Life Protection Act (Australia) makes it unlawful for any person to take charge of any infant under six years, for the purpose of nursing or maintaining it apart from its parents or guardians, for more than seven consecutive days, unless the foster-parent is provided with a Government licence. All foster-homes are continually inspected, and the same course is pursued in New Zealand. This Act is under the control of the Minister for Educaton. A very jealous watch is kept by the Governments of both countries on the employment of children as wage-earners, and the minimum wage and maximum hours fixed for such employment make child labour unprofitable to the capitalist.

Thus, in the lands where women vote, practical measures are taken to protect women and children, although emotional rhapsodies upon the beauty of motherhood and the tender helplessness of childhood do not issue so frequently as in this country from the lips of politicians.

KINGSWAY HALL MEETING

Saturday Afternoon, February 10; 3 p.m.

Under the auspices of the National Council for Adult Suffrage a Demonstration will be held in the Kingsway Hall on Saturday afternoon, February 10, at 3 p.m., to call upon the Government to bring in a Bill to enfranchise every adult man and woman.

Speakers

The Bishop of Lincoln will take the chair; and the following well-known men and women will speak:—Sir John Simon, K.C., M.P.; Miss Mary Macarthur, Councillor Margaret Ashton, Mrs. Barton (Women's Co-operative Guild), and two others to be announced later.

It will be seen that each of the speakers represents a different set of political and social opinions. The appeal made by such a platform should therefore be a wide one, and attract a very large audience.

United Suffragists' Share

The societies affiliated to the N.C.A.S., in which the United Suffragists are included, will share the work of filling the hall and making the meeting a success. We therefore call upon all our readers to write at once to Mrs. Ayrton Gould, United Suffragists, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C., for tickets for the meeting in order that they may secure good seats.

Price of Tickets.—Reserved and numbered, 2s. 6d.; reserved, but not numbered, 1s [illegible]nd 3d. There will be no free seats.

THE U.S. COUNCIL MEETING

The second annual Council Meeting of the U.S. will be held in the Central Hall, Westminster (Committee Room A) on Saturday afternoon and evening, January 20, beginning at 2.30 p.m. Only delegates will, of course, be admitted.

A CONCERT FOR CLUB FUNDS

By the great kindness of Miss Alice Mandeville a concert will be given at Leighton House, Kensington (which has been generously lent for the occasion), on Tuesday, February 13. Mr. Gervase Elwes and Miss Manderke will sing, and Miss Marjorie Hayward will be the violinist. Other names will be announced later. The proceeds are to be entirely devoted to the funds of the U.S. Women's Club. For tickets and particulars apply to Mrs. Schutze, Glebe House, Glebe Place, Chelsea, S.W.

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. Telephone, Holborn 5880

THE CAMPAIGN

Tuesday, January 9; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club, 92, Borough Road, S.E. Speaker: Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck.

Thursday, January 11; 8.30 p.m. — Joint Suffrage Meeting (Promoted by the United Suffragists and the Portsmouth Trades and Labour Council).—Trades Hall, Fratton Road, Portsmouth. Chair: Mr. George Lansbury. Speaker: Miss Evelyn Sharp.

Tuesday, January 16; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting. U.S. Women's Club. Speaker: Miss Helen Ward.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 20; 2.30 P.M.—U.S. COUNCIL MEETING.—CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER (COMMITTEE ROOM A) (FOR DELEGATES ONLY.)

Sunday, January 21; 3 p.m.—P.S.A. Meeting.—Wesleyan Church, Ashford. Speaker: Miss Evelyn Sharp. Chair: Mr. Herbert Lee.

Tuesday, January 23; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club. Speaker: Miss Elsie Chick.

Tuesday, January 30; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club. Speaker: Mrs. John Scurr.

Wednesday, January 31; 3.30 p.m.—Drawing-room Meeting.—2, Chesterford Gardens, Hampstead. Hostess: Mrs. Sadd-Brown. Chair: Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett. Speaker: Miss Alison Neilans (Association for Moral and Social Hygiene).

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 10; 3 p.m.—PUBLIC MEETING.—KINGSWAY HALL, KINGSWAY, LONDON, W.C. (UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE N.C.A.S.). CHAIR: THE RT. REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN. SPEAKERS: SIR JOHN SIMON, M.P., MISS MARY MACARTHUR, MRS. BARTON, COUNCILLOR MARGARET ASHTON. (TICKETS AND PARTICULARS FROM MRS. AYRTON GOULD, U.S. OFFICES, 27, CHANCERY LANE, W.C. SEE PAGE 229.)

U.S. "AT HOMES"

A very interesting meeting, the last of the series of autumn "At Homes," was held in the Central Hall, Westminster, on December 7, at 8 p.m. Mr. Lansbury, in the chair, spoke on the present Suffrage position and moved a resolution calling on the Government to pass a Bill in this Parliament to give the vote to every adult man and woman. This was seconded by someone in the audience, and passed without a dissentient voice. Mrs. Despard then made a most interesting speech on "The Position of Women after the War," which led to some discussion, after which the meeting was brought to a close.

These meetings will not be resumed until after the Kingsway Hall meeting on February 10, on which it is hoped that the London members will concentrate their energies throughout the month of January.

HEADQUARTERS BRANCH MEETING

The Headquarters Branch Meeting was held in the Small Essex Hall on December 14. Twenty-one delegates to the Council Meeting in January were elected, and a useful discussion took place on the future campaign and on ways of developing the influence of VOTES FOR WOMEN and increasing the membership of the U.S.

CHRISTMAS SALE

In Aid of U.S. Women's Club

The Christmas Sale was very successful. £160 5s. 2d. was realised, and crowds thronged the Hall and bought generously all the afternoon and evening. Lady Forbes Robertson made a charming opening speech, and afterwards went round and bought something from every stall. She was presented with a bouquet tied with ribbon in the U.S. colours (purple, white and orange), and also with a tea-cosy worked by Mrs. Tait, the oldest Club member.

We regret that, owing to the absence of Miss Brewster, who is suffering from influenza, we are obliged to hold over till next month the list of the takings of each stall, and also the names of those who, in addition to those mentioned last month, generously sent goods to the Sale.

U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB

92, Borough Road, S.E.

Secretary, Miss M. R. Cochrane. Tel.: Hop 4172

We have been very busy with the Christmas gifts for our sailors and soldiers, to whom we have sent tobacco and cigarettes, with a card of greeting from members and friends of the club. But we are not forgetting our children! One mother told her children that Santa Claus had gone to the Front this year, but we pulled him back just in time to leave crackers and sweets and perhaps a toy or a pair of woolly socks for each little stocking hung up on Christmas Eve. Owing to the kindness of friends we gave a little sugar to every household—not much; we cannot get it—but enough for Christmas Day.

Thanks to the following for donations to the Christmas presents fund:—Miss Mears, 10s.; Mrs. Fox, 5s.; Mrs. Davies, 6d.; Mrs. Henson, 6d.; Mrs. Henderson, 6d.; Miss Young, 2s.; Mrs. Hewett, 4d.; Mrs. Hyde, 3d.; Mrs. Silver, 1s.; Miss L. Fox, 8s.; Mrs. Smith, 4d.; Mrs. Chalk, 6d.

The following have generously given first-rate concerts during the month:—Miss Young, Miss Wyon, Mr. Threadgold, Mrs. Craies.

We are giving a Christmas party to the children of club members during January and shall be glad of any donations towards this.

ASHFORD U.S.

Hon. Sec.: Mr. John Marsh, 45, Royd's Road, Willsborough, Kent. Organizer: Miss Maude White, Magazine House, Winchelsea, Sussex

The mass meeting in the Cinema takes place after this paper appears, on Sunday, December 31. The Ashford Trades Council is co-operating with the Ashford U.S. over this meeting, and will be represented on the platform by their Chairman and Secretary and two delegates. Mr. George Lansbury is the principal speaker and Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck will take the Chair.

A meeting for women is being arranged some time in January to discuss the subject of venereal disease. Miss Evelyn Sharp will speak at the P.S.A. on January 21 at 3 p.m.; and Mr. John Scurr spoke to the same audience on December 17. The Ashford U.S. is sending two delegates to the U.S. Council meeting on January 20. Thanks to Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck for £5 (expenses of Cinema meeting); R. Goddard, Esq., 5s.

BIRMINGHAM U.S.

Hon. Sec.: Miss Julia Green, 13, Suffolk Street

At the members' meeting held in December the chief interest lay in the discussion on the proposed compulsory notification of, and detention of, persons suffering from venereal disease. It was decided that compulsion which would not apply equally to men and women, rich and poor, was undesirable. A resolution was therefore passed protesting against compulsion and urging the adoption of the suggestions of the Royal Commission on Venereal Disease. A copy of the resolution was sent to the Public Health Department of the city.

The arrangements for the deputation to local M.P.s were left in the hands of the Co-operative Guilds. It was also decided that the monthly meetings should be discontinued and members called together only when important business was to be discussed.

HAMPSTEAD AND GOLDER'S GREEN U.S.

Hon. Secretaries: Miss Daisy Solomon, 64, Pattison Road, N.W.; Miss Dorothy Pethick, 39, Meadway Court, Golder's Green, N.W.

The Provision Stall at the Sale for the U.S. Women's War Club was a great success, realising £24 10s. Our warm thanks are due to the following members and friends for contributions in money and kind:—Mrs. Ayrton, Miss Armstrong, the Misses Beck, Mrs. Binnie, Mrs. Sadd Brown, Miss Benett, Mrs. Barker, the Misses Brown, Miss Bell, Miss Brewster, Mrs. Bousfield, Mrs. Burrows, Mrs. Birrell, Mrs. Engert, Miss Engert, Mrs. Edwards, Miss Ellison, Mrs. Forrester, Miss Holiday, Miss Beatrice Harraden, Mrs. Hicks, Miss Hutchings, Mrs. Irons, Miss Jones, Miss Eva Moore, Miss Newcourt, the Misses Philp, Miss Pethick, Mrs. Paget, Mrs. Powell, Miss Robertson, Mrs. Rogers, Lady Rhondda, Mrs. Rose, Mrs. Saul Solomon, Miss Solomon, Mrs. Sherwin, Miss E. Sykes, Mrs. Cobden Unwin. Our next meeting will be held on Wednesday, January 31, at 3.30 p.m., at 2, Chesterford Gardens, Hampstead, by kind invitation of Mrs. Sadd Brown. (See Campaign.)

KENSINGTON U.S.

Hon. Sec., Miss Postlethwaite, 47a, Earl's Court Road, W. Telephone: 926 Western

Proceeds from the Holland Press and shilling stall amounted to £11. Thanks to all who helped both before and on the day of sale. Special thanks are due to Mrs. Hartley Withers and Mrs. Cobden Hirst for their generous contributions of £1 each to the stall, also to Mrs. Cruso for 2s. 6d. The shop will be closed for a few days at Christmas.

LIVERPOOL U.S.

Hon. Sec.: Miss Isabel Buxton, 111, Queen's Road

The postponed U.S. Evening at the Liverpool Suffrage Club, which took place on December 5, was very successful. The Hon. Sec. gave a brief outline of the work of our Society, after which Mrs. Karp opened a discussion on "Mothers in Mean Streets." A good collection was taken for our funds. We have sold a number of the new pamphlets, but Miss Milne has still a supply for those who have not yet obtained a copy. Her address is 51, Mount Road, Tranmere.

U.S. CLUB BRANCH

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Chalk; 92, Borough Road, S.E.

Mrs. Chalk has kindly consented to act as Hon. Secretary of the new club branch for the present. Will members of the U.S. Club, who wish to become members of the new Branch, kindly apply to her for membership cards? Any club member over 18 may join by signing the card and paying 1d. affiliation fee to Headquarters. The Branch now contains over 20 members, most of whom attend the meetings regularly on Tuesday evenings. It is hoped that they will make a point of bringing friends to these meetings.

HENDON WOMEN'S FRANCHISE SOCIETY

(Affiliated to United Suffragists)

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. McCabe, 49, Bridge Lane, Hendon, N.W.

A successful meeting was held on December 1. Unfortunately Miss Alison Neilans was too ill to come and speak to us; but Mrs. Outhwaite, to whom our best thanks are due, very kindly came instead, and dealt both ably and interestingly with the "economic" side of the problem of "Housing." A useful discussion followed the address, in which many members took part.

On Friday evening, January 5, at 8.15 p.m., a business meeting is to be held at 47, Rotherwick Road; and on Wednesday, January 17, at 2.30 p.m., there will be a meeting at 93, Corringham Road, H.G.S., by kind invitation of Mrs. Lilian Kuttner. The speaker and subject will be announced later to members of the Society.

THE FUND

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Miss Adams	0	1	0	Miss A. C. Little	1	1	0
Miss E. V. Adams	0	5	0	Lady Emily Lutyens	0	5	0
Mrs. Almond......	1	0	0	Mrs. Masters......	0	2	0
Anon	1	0	0	Miss M. Mears ...	0	3	0
Mrs. K. Armstrong	1	0	0	Mr. and Mrs. Merrick	1	4	0
Mrs. Ayrton	25	0	0	Miss O. Miers ...	0	4	0
Miss J. Barrowman	0	5	0	Miss W. M. Moore	0	2	6
Mrs. Baillie Weaver	2	0	0	Mrs. Morrison ...	1	0	0
Miss Burke	0	5	0	Miss H. C. Newcomb	2	0	0
Miss V. Cooke ...	0	2	6	Miss W. N. Newton	0	5	0
Miss H. Cooper...	0	5	0	Miss Oldrini	0	5	0
Miss A. R. Craig	2	2	0	Miss D. Pethick	5	0	0
Mrs. and Miss Drinkwater	0	5	0	Miss Postlethwaite	1	0	0
Miss Du Val	0	5	0	Mrs. Potbury......	0	2	0
Miss Empson ...	0	10	0	Lady Ramsay ...	1	1	0
Mrs. Evans	0	10	0	Miss J. Reed......	0	5	0
Miss Galloway ...	1	1	0	Miss G. A. Roberts	0	7	6
Miss D. M. C. Granville	0	10	0	Miss Evelyn Sharp	1	1	0
Miss D. Gregory	0	1	0	Miss Tyrrell	0	2	0
Miss Hall	0	10	0	Miss K. Williams	0	10	0
Miss K. M. Hasler	0	10	0	Mrs. White.........	0	2	6
Miss F. Heathcote	0	5	0	Miss Yarwood ...	0	2	0
Miss A. B. Howlett	0	1	0				
Miss Joachim ...	12	10	0		66	19	6
Miss E. Kerby ...	0	1	0				
Miss W. Knowles	0	10	6				

CLUB FUND

	£	s.	d.
Club Sale	161	5	2
Christmas Present Fund	2	17	6
Mrs. Allen	0	5	0
Mrs. P. Brewster	0	4	6
Miss Brinsen	0	2	6
Miss Henderson...	0	2	6
Miss Marston	1	0	0
Miss McEwen	1	0	0
Miss M. Mears	0	11	6
Mrs. Winterne	0	2	6
Miss Young...	0	2	6
Total	£167	13	8

SUFFRAGE NEWS

IN HOLLAND

Dr. Martina Kramers sends us a long and interesting communication which lack of space unfortunately prevents our publishing in full. She tells us that since the big Suffrage demonstration of June 18 in Amsterdam, the women's organisations have been very active, "and at the opening of Parliament on September 19 the women flocked in thousands to the Hague and were seen in groups at every street corner, distributing pamphlets."

Since then, during the debates on the Reform Bill (virtually a Manhood Suffrage Bill), twenty-three women, each representing 1,000 members of the Women's Suffrage Association of Holland, have picketed the door of the Second Chamber; and on the opening day of the general discussion of the Bill, over 4,000 women wearing the Suffrage colours paraded in the Binnenhof, the Square in front of the House, and the Speaker received Dr. Aletta Jacobs and two officers of the W.S.A., who presented a memorandum demanding political equality for men and women.

What has been Gained

Political equality has not been gained, but, says Dr. Kramers, "what they have gained is certainly a step forward." The existing Constitution of Holland, adopted in 1887, "gives the franchise to male inhabitants possessing certain qualifications of property and fitness. . . . The Revision Bill, proposed by the Government, and now adopted by the Second Chamber, gives the franchise to all adult men, and makes it possible for a subsequent electoral law to enfranchise women 'if and in so far as it shall think fit, without however introducing a property qualification.'"

"It will be seen," continues our correspondent, "that our gain is eligibility at once and a chance to get the vote as soon as the Government in power will grant it."

The Premier We Know!

She tells us further that the women's friends in the Second Chamber, especially the Socialists, have tried to amend the Bill by striking out the word "male" and omitting the clause relating to women's enfranchisement; but—

"The Premier deliberately refused to accept this amendment, not because he himself was not in favour of giving votes to women, but because he did not feel warranted to go beyond complying with the compromise agreed to in 1913 by the political parties which now compose the majority. Still, the Premier, Mr. Cort van der Linden, *has* gone farther than the compromise, in so far as he gives us eligibility for all governing bodies; this is probably due to the change in the position of women brought about by the war, and also to the example of Denmark. So eligibility, also called "passive suffrage," is the Dutch women's war profit, and, like all war profits, it will benefit only very few and blind the eyes of the many who will think it an object of great value.

"We may well wonder at the way in which men politicians who are obliged to recognise our right to political equality, mete it out to us grudgingly and hesitatingly, giving and withholding now this, now that. In New Zealand women vote since 1893, but are not as yet eligible for Parliament. In Holland we are to have a seat in Parliament before we are entitled to vote, and voting qualifications for women are invented on the most contradictory lines, some M.P.s proposing to enfranchise only the unmarried and others only the married women. It will be playing fast and loose all the time, until we shall have our rights constitutionally guaranteed like our brothers.

"In order to become law the new Constitution will have to pass a second reading by the First Chamber, and a third by a two-third's majority of the whole States-General, after which it requires the Royal Sanction."

Our readers will note for themselves, in the above interesting account, that the way of true Suffrage is a smooth one nowhere, and that the obstacles in its way—from "favourable" Premiers to compromising M.P.s—have an international character.

IN BERNE

According to the *Christian Science Monitor* (November 13), a Socialist Deputy, Herr Münch, introduced a Bill, during the recent session of the Berne Grand Council, to give the municipal vote to women, but was met with the argument—an old one to some of us!—that the women of Berne did not want the vote. Some twenty Bernese organizations have consequently presented a memorandum to the Grand Council showing that the women do want the vote, and why they want it. In the course of the memorandum it is pointed out that the canton is about to enfranchise all men, whether they pay taxes or not, but withholds it even from tax-paying women; and is also considering the claim of resident aliens to a vote, while refusing it to the native Swiss women.

◆

MANCHESTER OPINION

At the Suffrage Conference held in Manchester on November 29, with Professor Merrick in the Chair, the following resolution was unanimously passed:—

"That this Conference of Manchester Suffrage Societies, appreciating the statement made by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on August 14, 1916, that women have an unanswerable claim to be consulted upon the many questions of industrial reconstruction directly affecting their interests which are bound to arise after the war, considers it essential that any measure of franchise reform which is proposed during the present session should include the enfranchisement of women equally with men on a broad and democratic basis, thereby removing the sex disability, so that women shall be represented by the Parliament which will deal with these problems."

Every Suffrage Society in the city was represented at the Conference, so the resolution represents the united non-party Suffrage opinion of Manchester.

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LONDON GRADUATES

An admirable memorandum has been presented to the Speaker's Conference from the Committee of the London Graduates' Union for Women's Suffrage. Saying that "the question of alterations in the Franchise laws has now been raised in Parliament," the statement proceeds to point out that "in those fields of service which were opened to women by the abolition of sex disabilities in the University of London and some of the other Universities, the outbreak of war found women trained to the highest point of efficiency." The memorandum instances the work of Reconstruction and the problems of Empire after the war as questions demanding the co-operation of men and women, and ends with the words—

"Great Britain is at war to maintain the principle that right is not determined by might. In this we see a new hope that the enfranchisement of the women of our nation will no longer be refused or delayed."

◆

NORTHERN MEN'S MANIFESTO

We have purposely elected to consider this Manifesto under the heading of Suffrage rather than Venereal Disease, for it approaches the latter question—as we think it ought to be approached by Suffragists—from the point of view of the political disability of women and the consequent danger of the further degradation of women through compulsory measures framed to deal with sexual disease.

The Manifesto is written by Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett, and issued at one penny by the Northern Men's Federation (6, Wellington Road, London, N.W.), and is signed by sixteen magistrates of Glasgow and by municipal representatives of Edinburgh and Berwick-on-Tweed. It deals with "Women's Suffrage and Parliamentary Morals," giving a sketch of sex legislation in this country from the time of the C.D. Acts until now, and leading up to the following conclusion:—

"We cannot separate women's enfranchisement from this great issue, and we shall fight as determinedly for the one as we shall resist any encroachment on their liberty in the other, until such time as women themselves are free as men with an equal opportunity with men to keep themselves honourably alive by a self-respecting wage, which a raised political status alone can give them, for in very truth it is the daughters of the poor who go to feed the system."

Not the least useful part of the little pamphlet is the Appendix, which gives a table of Bills passed since 1864 in relation to sex legislation, and of Bills since 1867, *not* passed, dealing with Woman Suffrage. The pamphlet is to be obtained (price 1d., post free 1½d.) from the Hon. Secretary, United Suffragists, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C.

◆

FROM THE PRESS

Sir William Ramsay, in the "World" (Dec. 12)

The suffrage is the opportunity of acquiring education and training and opportunity in the treatment of society. The art of social life consists in the intelligent improvement of law and custom, and it would be as rational to forbid women to study sociology, or medicine, or philosophy as to forbid them to put their knowledge so gained into practice by voting, or by practising as physicians or nurses. The denial of the vote to any rational and educated member of society is a denial of the elementary principles on which modern society is organised.

Daily News (Dec. 6)

Whether Mr. Bonar Law will form a Government in order to go to the country and take a General Election remains in doubt at the moment. Election prospects are being canvassed. But 50 per cent. of the civilians still left in the country are off the register, and no votes can be taken from the fighting forces or our women, so that such an election would be a farce.

◆

"BUILDERS OF EMPIRE"

Ten lectures on "Women as Builders of Empire" will be given by Miss Margaret Hodge in the Vestry Hall, St. George's, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., beginning on Tuesday, January 23. The lectures will be given on Tuesdays at 8 p.m., and the same lectures repeated on Fridays at 3 p.m. Tickets (7s. 6d. for the course; 5s. to members of Suffrage Societies; 1s. for single lectures) will be available for either afternoon or evening lectures in each week, and can be obtained, with copies of prospectus, from the United Suffragists' Offices.

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Assault on a Girl

The *Times* (November 17) reports case of four Belgian youths charged before Mr. Justice Darling at the Central Criminal Court with an assault upon a girl aged 14½. The Judge called it "a cowardly outrage," and said the defendants had also committed "most deliberate perjury."

Sentence: *Two to 18 months' hard labour; two to 12 months'.*

Manslaughter

The *Times* (December 4) reports case of a stock-breeder charged at Surrey Assizes with the manslaughter of a wounded soldier by striking him on the head.

Sentence: *Nine months' hard labour.*

HEAVY SENTENCES

Fraud

The *Times* (December 8) reports case of a man charged before Mr. Justice Darling at the Central Criminal Court with demanding money with menaces and with offering to prevent the publication of certain matters for money. There were previous convictions for theft and forgery. The Judge said his offence was punishable by penal servitude for life.

Sentence: *Three years' penal servitude.*

Stealing Army Boots

The *Manchester Guardian* (November 29) reports case of two publicans, a Lieutenant and Quartermaster, and a military motor driver, all charged at the Kent Assizes before Mr. Justice Horridge with stealing 300 pairs of army boots, valued at £300.

Sentence: *Three to 18 months' hard labour; one to 9 months'.*

Comment is scarcely necessary on the comparisons in this month's table of punishments. They illustrate as forcibly as ever our contention that human life is considered less valuable than property in the eyes of the law of this country. It is only fair to emphasize here, however, that Mr. Justice Darling, in sentencing four youths to certain terms of imprisonment for a horrible outrage on one young girl, while he sent an offender against the rights of property to penal servitude for three years, was not, in the strict letter of the law, showing more leniency to the latter than to the former. The maximum sentence for what *we* consider immeasurably the greater crime is only two years' hard labour; for the crime of fraud it appears to be penal servitude for life. Strictly speaking, the Judge was really more lenient to the thief than to the other four offenders, though we should have preferred to see him demonstrate a sense of the monstrous inequality of the law as it now stands by giving the maximum sentence to those who preyed upon the helplessness of the child of 14.

◆

WORKING MEN JUSTICES

It appears to us of very great importance that the Lord Chancellor, in adding thirty-six new members to the Commission of the Peace for Monmouthshire, has appointed eight of these from the ranks of the workers. Three of the new magistrates are working colliers, four are miners' agents and miners' lodge secretaries, and one is a signalman on the Great Western Railway. We have always maintained that the administration of justice in this country suffers seriously from two disabilities—the double class standard and the double sex standard. The first of these has been broken down in Monmouthshire, where we may hope to see in future less evidence of the assertion that there is "one law for the rich and another for the poor"; we hope also that the Lord Chancellor will see fit to extend the experiment to other counties and to London.

The second evil, springing from the double moral standard that exists for men and women, could be enormously lessened if women magistrates and women jurymen were to be appointed also. No one who reads the cases of assault in the left hand column of our Comparison of Punishments, month by month, can fail to be aware of the injustice that is done through the non-representation of the woman's point of view in the Courts of this country. But we fear that such an innovation as women on the Bench and in the jury will have to wait until political power has been won by women.

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"PARTICULARLY BAD"

We agree with Police-Judge Montgomery, who, at Govan Police Court, recently described the case of a man, charged with molesting four young girls at night time in the dimly-lit streets, as "a particularly bad one." But why, in that case, did he sentence the man to six months' hard labour only? We should say nothing if this leniency were shown equally to men convicted of theft; but a glance at the right-hand column of our "Comparison of Punishments," any month in the year, will show that this is not the case.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

BRITISH DOMINIONS WOMAN SUFFRAGE UNION.—Ten lectures on "Women as Builders of Empire," by Miss Margaret Hodge, at St. George's Vestry Hall, Hart Street, Bloomsbury (by kind permission of the Rev. C. O. Warlow), on Tuesdays, beginning January 23, at 8 p.m. Each lecture will be repeated on the following Friday, at 3 p.m. Tickets for the Course, 7s. 6d. (to members of Suffrage Societies, 5s.). Single tickets, 1s., from the Int. Suffrage Shop, 5, Duke Street, Adelphi, or by letter from Miss Newcomb (Hon. Sec., B.D.W.S.U.), c/o I.W.F. Club, 9, Grafton Street, Piccadilly.

FLORENCE CANNING MEMORIAL.—The Fund, amounting to £165, is to be devoted to the equipment of the operating theatre of the Women's Hospital for Children, 688, Harrow Road, W., and a small commemoration tablet will be placed on the wall of the theatre.

THE HOLLAND PRESS. Large variety of Christmas Cards and Calendars, from 1d. Engagements Calendars, with quotations and design on cover, price 6d. each.—47A, Earl's Court Road, W.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE announce a Recital of Old Songs and Satires, by Winifred Holloway, and Fairy Tales, by Katherine Raleigh, at the Bijou Theatre, 3, Bedford Street, Strand, W.C., Friday, January 26, at 3 p.m. Tea, 4.45. Tickets, 1s. reserved, and 6d. unreserved, from the Women's Freedom League Office, 144, High Holborn, W.C.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE will hold public meetings at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday afternoons, commencing January 24, at 3 p.m. The following will be among the speakers: Mr. Lansbury, Mr. Chancellor, M.P., the Rev. W. Major Scott, Dr. Armstrong Smith (of the Garden City Philosophical Society), Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Mustard, Miss Eunice Murray, &c. Admission free. Tea at 4.30.

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Several Labour and Women's Organisations are Co-operating in this Demonstration, including the **UNITED SUFFRAGISTS** (27, Chancery Lane, W.C.), from whom **TICKETS** (2/6, numbered and reserved; 1/- and 3d., reserved) may be obtained.

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